

FILE ONLY

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

A real Nixon man

The Bush campaign has moved quickly and thus far successfully to stifle an ugly surprise. The vice president's aides ousted Frederick Malek as deputy chairman of the Republican National Committee for his part in an anti-Semitic episode in the Nixon years. Malek is an old hatchet man who during the first Nixon administration "enforced" punishments against people on Nixon's enemies list. The surprise was that Malek is a good friend of Bush; the vice president personally recruited him for his campaign.

This story broke at the same time that the Republican National Committee had to fire five members of its Ethnic Advisory Committee, including a paid member of the national committee's permanent staff. Those fired had ties to pro-Nazi organizations that terrorized Eastern Europe during World War II.

These revelations should not have been surprising because Bush has made his way in a Republican Party that Nixon created in his own image. It began in 1964 with the Goldwater campaign. Nationwide, Goldwater was a political disaster, but his nomination marked the first triumph of the Southern strategy long advocated by Nixon and hard-line conservatives. Bush ran for the Senate in 1964 as a Goldwater Republican, losing to Ralph Yarborough, an outspoken liberal Democrat.

When Nixon won in 1968, he had as one of his goals the destruction of the political influence of the Eastern Establishment. Nixon planned to substitute the voting power of Wallace-ite Southern Democrats and of Eastern European and other ethnic blocs. This required a president who would make thinly veiled racist appeals and indulge in the extreme anticommunist rhetoric that Eisenhower had resisted.

In 1970, Bush tried for the Senate again, hoping to use Nixon's anticommunist themes against Yarborough. This strategy collapsed when Lloyd Bentsen, making a political comeback after 14 years in private business, upset Yarborough in the Democratic primary. Without Yarborough's Senate record to exploit, Bush was adrift. Bentsen won decisively.

To keep his career alive, Bush turned to Nixon; 1970 was the first midterm election year in which Nixon could try his Southern strategy. It was only partially successful, but Bush, as one of the players, deserved a reward. In a conversation after the 1970 election, Bush convinced Nixon that if he received the UN ambassadorship he could do the administration

a lot of good in New York and Eastern Establishment circles. Bush served in the UN in 1971-72.

After the 1972 election, Nixon asked Bush to serve as chairman of the Republican National Committee. This meant that Bush spent 1973-74 as one of Nixon's front men during Watergate.

In return for this partisan service, President Gerald Ford appointed Bush to a diplomatic post in China. Bush arrived in Beijing in February 1975, but he had no interest in China and was soon restless to return to Washington, where he could be a figure on the domestic political scene. Ford let him resign at the end of 1975, but he had other uses for him in mind.

A Senate committee headed by Frank Church of Idaho had devaluated the CIA with its investigations of assassination plots and hare-brained schemes. Ford asked Bush to become director of the CIA and refurbish its public image. Bush agreed reluctantly to do so. From January to December 1976, Bush was the CIA caretaker. He avoided taking any substantive

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decisions affecting the organization, personnel or policies of the CIA. He devoted himself to cultivating Congress and the media through speeches and background lunches. Jimmy Carter's victory ended Bush's tour of duty with "the agency."

Bush spent from 1976 to 1979 preparing for the 1980 campaign. Having to settle for the vice presidency, he has devoted himself from 1981-87 preparing for the 1988 campaign.

Because of his Andover-Yale education and because his father was a US senator from Connecticut, many people have seen Bush as a leader who would restore Eastern Establishment influence. This is a misperception. Bush catered to it by choosing Gov. Thomas Kean of New Jersey to be keynote speaker at the convention.

On fundamental decisions, however, Bush turned to two political operators, pollster Robert Teeter and image-maker Roger Ailes, who got their start under Nixon. In his first big decision, the choice of a vice president, Teeter and Ailes led Bush to a client of theirs, Sen. Dan Quayle. They then persuaded him to open his campaign with a heavy barrage of negative, low-level attacks on his opponent. Ailes perfected his negative techniques under his mentor, Richard Nixon. Bush put aside the "vision thing." This is a rock-'em-sock-'em campaign appealing to patriotism and fear of communism in the good old Nixon way.

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